1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[772] 173 234 773

mani, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh* and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr, they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 ●221 234 621 773

Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil, Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tîdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tîdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tîdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

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CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

AT certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Pied-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
778 Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
783 miödr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
776 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
621 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
221 from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
796 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234* 221 796 the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray, [415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the 482] milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On reaching the new village, the palikartmokh purifies

234x 221 796

the dairy by throwing into it water mixed with *tudr* bark.[1] The dairy things are taken off the sticks at an appointed spot. The *palikartmokh* salutes the sun with *irkarthpun* and *madth* as in the morning, and then all pray. After the prayer, the *palikartmokh* takes some ferns (*taf*) and puts them on the place within the dairy where the things of the *patatmar* are to stand, and these are put in their places on the ferns. The things of the *ertatmar* are then arranged in the same way. The *palikartmokh* makes fire by friction, lights the lamp, and then goes to milk the buffaloes. If he has brought milk with him, he will churn it. Meanwhile a ceremony called *nòtiteiti* will have been performed by a little girl about six or seven years of age in those cases in which all the inhabitants of the village are migrating. Before leaving the village from which the people are coming this girl will have been given food in the dairy. On reaching the new place, the girl plucks three blades of the slender grass called *kakar* and goes to the front of the dairy and sweeps the threshold with the grass. She does this with her right arm outside her cloak, and when she has swept she bows down with her forehead to the threshold three times. If there is more than one dairy, she sweeps the threshold of each. The *palikartmokh* then gives her a small handful of butter and the girl goes to the huts. Up to this time the women will have been waiting near the village, but when they see that the girl has performed her ceremony, they go to the huts and prepare the food called *ashkkartpimi*.[2]

When the *palikartmokh* has finished milking, he also prepares food, and when it is ready he throws some into the fire, *tòrtütrsersthi*, "food into the fire he throws," and then gives out the food to the people, and they eat both this and that prepared by the women.

At some places the ceremonial is more complicated than at others, the degree of elaboration depending on the sacredness of the dairy to which the buffaloes are going. When they migrate to the especially sacred village of Kiudr the extra

[1] This is probably only true of Teivall dairies.

[2] This is a special food used on important ceremonial occasions, the mode of preparation of which is given in Chapter XXIV.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234x 221 796 complexity seems to depend on the presence of the bells of the dairy of that village. When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kiudr, he puts the dairy things he has brought with him at the back of the dairy. Another *palikartmokh* goes into the inner room and brings out the bells called *patatmani* and lays them by stones called *neurzülnkars* at one side of the dairy (see Fig. 31). He enters again and brings out four *ertatmani*, which he lays by the side of another group of stones called *neurzülnkars* (see Fig. 32). The second *palikartmokh* then

[343]

FIG. 31.—THE DAIRY OF KIUDR WITH THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' ETAMUDRI (58); ON THE RIGHT OF THE DAIRY ABOVE AND TO THE LEFT OF THE HEAD OF ETAMUDRI IS THE STONE CALLED 'NEURZÜLNKARS,' BY WHICH THE 'PATATMANI' IS LAID.

purifies the dairy with *tudr* bark and puts the vessels which have been brought to Kiudr in their places on a bed of ferns in the way which has been described. After all the vessels are in their places, he takes the *patatmani* to the dairy stream, while the first *palikartmokh* brings *tudr* bark. The *tudr* bark is pounded and the juice squeezed over the bells. The two *patatmani*, having thus been purified, are then put on a forked 000 stick and carried to their usual place in the dairy. The same

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234[x] 796 procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on the same a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234[x] 233 221 796 I obtained a very full account of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of the proceedings for this herd.

The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tiir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr.

In 1902 this plan was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palol* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year.

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitnir, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

½ [of buffalo migration — Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234K believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
233 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred
796 herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234K As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
221 important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must
be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
197 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

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less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482 796

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *piitusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The procession then starts with the *mòrol* at its head. In some cases a halt is made when passing certain places, and prayer is offered by the *palol*. In going from Mòdr to Anto the procession stops first at Pòrstib near Tedshteiri village (belonging to the Nòdrsol), where the *wars palol* puts the staff carrying the *mani* on a stone and prays while touching the staff with his hands. The next halt is made at Ponvtüt, where the buffaloes separate from the *palol* and follow a slightly different route, and here the *wars palol* again prays. The procession halts for a third time at a place called Teirpül, near Anto, but this time it is the *ti palol* who prays after having placed the churning stick and bell on a stone.

On its way to Anto the procession passes near the village of Kîudr. When the buffaloes are seen to be coming, the women leave the house and go to the outskirts of the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve and broom, and wait there while the procession is going by. All the people of Kiudr fast on this day till after the buffaloes have passed.

It was said that on this day the *palikartmokh* of Kiudr used to rub clarified butter on the stones called *neurzülnkars*, but there was some doubt about this, and if the custom ever existed it seems to have fallen into disuse.

According to some accounts, certain clauses especially referring to the migration of the *ti* buffaloes are used in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see Chap. X).

On reaching the outskirts of the new place, the Todas who have accompanied the procession go away. The staff carried by the *mòrol* is taken off by the *kaltmokh*, who is again very careful that the vessels do not touch their bearer. Although the *mòrol* is allowed to carry some of the less sacred vessels, care is taken throughout that the vessels shall not be contaminated by touching his body or his clothing.

All the dairy vessels are taken off and laid by a stone called the *perskars*, and then follows the ceremony of *peputi*. Each *palol* has carried with him some milk in one of the *persin*. Some of this is poured into the *peptòrzum*[1] and given to certain buffaloes, one of each kind belonging to the *ti*; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti*, the milk is given to five buffaloes, to three by one *palol*

[1] The vessel derives its name from this ceremony.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and to two by the other. The milk may be given to buffaloes directly from the *tòrzum*, or it may be poured into the hands of the *palol* from which the appointed buffaloes drink.

The next business is the purification of the dairy, called *nòdrkorsi arspishpimi—i.e.*, we wash with *nòdrkorsi*. The *palol* goes to the dairy spring or *kwoinir* with the *karitòrzum*, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm. He throws *tudr* bark into the spring, fills the *karitòrzum* and returns. He puts *tudr* bark into the *karitòrzum* and also into the *idrkwoi* and then pours the water from the *karitòrzum* into the *idrkwoi*, which he takes to the dairy and throws the water with his hands first over the dairy vessels and then well into the dairy itself so that it penetrates to the inner room. He throws the water first on the floor, then to the roof and to the sides, three times to each. Next he takes three sprigs of the plant ordinarily called *kabudri* (*Euphorbia Rothiana*), but at the *ti* called *nòdrkorsi* and ties it over the door of the dairy.

The dairy vessels, which have been untied and placed on the ground near the *perskars*, are then purified and put in their places. The *palol* first takes up the *peptòrzum* with the *persinkudriki* within it, the *kòghlag*, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet*, all in the right hand, and carries them to the front of the dairy, where he repeats certain *kwarzam* of the prayer, then turns to the east and says the whole prayer of the dairy, salutes the dairy holding the four things to his forehead, enters, puts the things except the *kwoinörtpet* in their places, comes out with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without turning his back to the interior of the dairy, and shuts the door of the building. He then takes in the other vessels of the inner room, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without repeating the prayer. One *persin* is taken in first, then the others, the *karitòrzum* and the *tedshk*. Then the *mani* is taken, being carried in the right hand and laid temporarily on the floor near the *persin*; when taking in the bell certain *kwarzam* are said.

The wand called *pokvet* is next taken in and laid in its place, and then the things intermediate between the inner and outer room—viz., the lamp, which is hung in its place, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ödrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the
head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
793 first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the
morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable
that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open
air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed
to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because
theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with
Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of
similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act
of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can
possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in
other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with
the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next
chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234 At some time during the day following the arrival at the
new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nödrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is
given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described,
together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the
Nödrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other
places he only stays till the day after the procession. The
Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—
i.e., "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that
erdpunrs is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration.

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*.

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*.

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *maui* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurzülnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAND.

Todas a pastoral Race—Definition of a Nomad—Todas migrate, but are not nomadic—The Mand or Village—Construction of Houses—Interior Arrangement of Houses—The surrounding Wall—The Cattle-pen—The Dairy or Pálkchi—Typical Plan of a Mand—Selection of Village Sites—Names of Villages.

CHAP. VI.

THE TODAS are a purely pastoral race; occupying themselves almost entirely in the bucolic pursuit of herding buffalos, of which they are in possession of a very fine species. They keep no other description of animals, save cats—Kotti.

As they do not attempt cultivation of the soil, they have rather hastily been styled nomads. Taking that term to imply a tribe which, *without fixed place of residence*, wanders in quest of food—whether that be game or pasture for its cattle—the word is a misnomer as applied to the Todas.

Indeed, from the many primitive races found in various parts of the world, which with striking deficiency of development in the organs of Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Order, and Number, are also distinguished by the peculiarity, common to them all, of not tilling the soil, we may select links of a complete gradation in idle mode of life; from the lowest, or ever-wandering predatory class which lives by begging and theft: through several varieties of the nomadic shepherd and hunter: up to the *settled* pastoral races, amongst which we class the Todas; who, with a very strong bias in favour of a permanent home, *yet migrate* once a year, compelled

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist.

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape.

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ársh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land.

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under

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the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck —'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

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A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi, in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth	Kudar
Mâr	Markush

Puzhash.

And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corresponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII, on the Bell-gods.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AN60 Toda AN60

The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AwGoToda AwGo

I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nilgiris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent